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ADDRESS
by
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
at the popular rally
held by the Arab Socialist Union
in Aswan, February 18, 1965
and attended by President El Habib Bourguiba

Information Department
Cairo — U.A.R.

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PRESIDENT EL HABIB BOURGUIBA

Aswan, February 18, 1965

Brethren,

I should have been here with you on January 9 to attend the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the start of work on the High Dam. But this day fell during the month of Ramadan and I did not wish to add to your many occupations. I preferred at that time to leave your entire attention concentrated on the two great struggles — the struggle of the soul and the struggle of work; I planned to come after Ramadan.

It is fortunate that circumstances provided me with the opportunity to come today with a dear friend and one of the brightest leaders of national struggle, the leader of a struggling Arab people, President El-Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia. It affords us all great pleasure that today we have with us here at the site of the High Dam such a dear friend, the

circumstances of whose national struggle allowed him to know Egypt before the Revolution. Thus, when he sees this work, of revolutionary Egypt's achievement, he can be a just witness to the efforts exerted by the Egyptian people when they had the chance to direct all their creative potentialities to the operation of renewing life on their land in all the material and moral fields.

We have the pleasure, brethren, to have with us here our dear brother, El-Habib Bourguiba, as we see this High Dam — this accomplished hope which represents a magnificent operation of construction, determination and willpower.

As we mention this, we also mention the brotherly and dear people of Tunisia who struggled and fought for their independence and freedom. We also mention their leadership that was determined to achieve their independence, the leadership of brother El Habib Bourguiba who gives us pleasure by his presence with us here in Aswan today, at the site of the High Dam.

We mention this struggling leadership that crowned its fight of more than thirty years by the realisation of the complete evacuation of foreign occupation forces from Tunisia and their departure from Binzert. On this occasion, we pray to the Almighty to keep the brotherly people of Tunisia always victorious and to guide the steps of their leader, our august brother, President El Habib Bourguiba.

We are happy today to have President El Habib Bourguiba at the site of the High Dam so that he may

see how the Egyptian people are exerting every possible effort when they got the opportunity to direct all their potentialities to the process of recreating life. The High Dam is a symbol of great significance; it is a symbol of moral struggle, a symbol of the abolition of imperialism, a symbol of determination. We determined to build the High Dam and to have recourse to American and British foreign experience. However, in 1956, the British and the Americans proclaimed their refusal to work towards the implementation of the High Dam. Still our firm determination enabled us to build the High Dam; it also made it possible for us to stand here today within sight of this Dam and to witness its rise. We have thus been able to carry out our will and, at the same time, we were able to build our life because the High Dam represents land, it represents electricity, it represents experience.

The High Dam will give us 1.5 million feddans of land. It will convert 700,000 feddans from basin to perennial irrigation; e.g. it will increase the arable area by almost one third. The High Dam will give us 10 milliard KWH of electricity.

In 1952, we had one milliard. Today we have 5 milliard, but the High Dam will give us 10 milliard; that is twice as much as we have today. The High Dam will provide us with experience for the technicians and for the workers. We can utilise this experience in the construction works which we want to carry out in this land of the Revolution. We are building life in every corner of this land, thanks to the worker, farmer, engineer, designer and every citizen who works honourably for the

sake of his fatherland, for his own sake and for his own future.

As a moral undertaking, the High Dam signifies that when we are resolved to do something, we are able to carry it out whether America wishes it or not, and whether Britain wishes it or not. We made up our minds and were able to put our will into effect. As a moral undertaking, the High Dam gives us self-confidence. We said we wanted to build the Dam, and we did so. We faced the tripartite aggression, we faced the economic blockade, we faced the psychological war, and, despite all this, we did build the High Dam and we can see it today.

I was present with you here last May when the Nile course was not yet diverted. Today, I saw the Nile's course diverted and the Dam growing wider by ten or eight folds. There is work and confidence. No power on earth was able to defeat the force of these people who placed their faith in God and followed their road, with self-confidence, and were able to build the High Dam.

The High Dam taught us a moral lesson, that we confront challenges without fear, no one can intimidate us. Those who threaten us, let them do so, because we know what we are able to do and what we cannot do; we know that when we talk about doing a thing, that means we are capable of doing it.

The High Dam is rising day after day above the Nile; the High Dam, after we have diverted the course of the Nile with the work of our hands, is a proof that we

can face challenges that we can resolve upon a thing, and have confidence in ourselves. We can face challenges while we have faith in our objectives; we can have faith in our objectives, and implement them without hesitation.

Our objectives are not merely the building of the High Dam, but we have many others, and highly ambitious ones.

When we listen today to foreign broadcasts, we hear the B.B.C. saying that we are experiencing an economic crisis. They pertinently know that this is a lie, because we have no crisis of this kind at all, because we are working; all our funds are put back in the work.

Industrial investments in 1952 amounted to L.E. 2 million only. This year, they rose to L.E. 150 million. This means that we can now build 75 times as many factories as there existed in 1952. It also means that we can be very comfortable economically if we reduced our industrial investments to L.E. 100 million or to L.E. 70 million and kept the rest as reserves in hard currency.

Shall we hoard these reserves and refrain from building our country. We want to build it at a double speed; we want to make up for the lost years. If we wish to reach the speed at which the big countries are progressing now, then we must invest every piastre in agriculture, industry, services, education and health services.

Eversince 1956, they have been saying that we are suffering an economic crisis, that we shall soon proclaim our bankruptcy. We have not gone bankrupt from 1956

to 1965 and we shall not go bankrupt. However, the foreign press and imperialist circles shall keep saying the same thing with the object of fighting us. We have answered these by saying that these methods are no longer effective. They might formerly have affected us; there was a time when an article in the « Times » could change the Egyptian government. Now the « Times » and the British newspapers can all close down and it would not affect us, no stone or grain of sand in Egypt would be moved.

In old times they used to say that they intended to send a destroyer to Alexandria, which was enough to cause the downfall of the Cabinet. Today, the Sixth Fleet, the Seventh Fleet, the Eighth — all that is not given any consideration in our own account. We have not only experienced that, but we have also experienced, in 1956, aggression from England — a great power, and from France, together with Israel. We faced the aggression. Indeed, we have gone through a crucial period, but these people were able to defy the great power, to defy the fleets and armies, and were able to record in history that they made a turning point in history. They recorded how small nations can defeat great powers, how a small nation can make a great power become a second class nation, rather than a first class one.

These people were capable of this defiance, and today we see the High Dam before us. As I was passing by the High Dam today, I recalled all this. I recalled the years 1955, 1956 and 1957 and all those long years when we were negotiating its financing and loans, how

this financing was cut off; and then how we nationalized the Suez Canal in order that we may be able to finance the High Dam with our own money. How the whole revenue of the Suez Canal was lost to us. We used to get one million pounds and the rest was taken by imperialism and the imperialist powers. This year alone we got from the Suez Canal L.E. 71 million. All this money used to go to our enemies.

Today everyone thinks of the aggression. How we were faced by the aggression in 1956. How we received the British ultimatum in 1956 and rejected it. We never yielded but we were determined to fight. We think of how God stood with us in that stage and how we were able to win.

The High Dam represents all these things. It will bring about an increase in the land, electricity and experience. The High Dam has moral significance which shall be repeated by successive generations and handed down from father to son. The High Dam has been able to restore to the people their self-confidence and their faith in their objective... their ability to accomplish what they set to do. The High Dam is not the only picture of our progress. There are several such pictures everywhere... in the various industrial sectors. We have built more than 850 factories during the past 12 years. In the next Five-Year Plan we shall have more valuable factories. In the past 12 years here in Aswan you used to hear about the hydro-electric scheme of the Aswan Dam, the steel of Aswan and the fertilizers plant of Aswan. Today there is a power plant that gives 2 milliard KWH

of electricity compared to one milliard in 1952 in the whole country.

The power station which you have gives two billion KWH. The iron mines which have existed in Aswan since the time of the Pharaohs .. ever since we were in secondary schools we heard them speak about the iron industry and the iron mines .. now transfer their products to Cairo where they are transformed into boats, motor cars and a wide range of products including rockets.

Now Aswan produces fertilizers; you have the sugar, paper and granulated wood factories. All these products did not previously exist and these factories are the beginning. They are only a start and with God's will, these industries shall be doubled every five years in every governorate and everywhere.

Thus, the High Dam is not the only aspect of our determination; we did not seriously start with industry except after 1956... in 1957. I came to inaugurate the KEMA factory and the electric power station in 1960. In the period prior to 1957 we had a major task to accomplish: we worked for our national unity, and the concentration on industry only took place after 1957. This concentration gives the picture of actual events, the people are building these factories with their determination, their work, their sweat, and their own money. We hear that we are receiving aid... nobody gives us aid, they give us loans with interest. No one gives us anything for free.

We paid the cost of the fertilizers factory, and the interest on that price at 6 % or 5 %, I am not sure. Nothing here in Aswan did we get on the basis of mere aid, but we pay the price of everything. When they speak of aid, it is only credit that we get. The aid they talk about is that they give a hundred pounds and get them back in five years, and they gain thereon an interest of 6 % or 7 % yearly. This is what they qualify as aid. But is there any one who gives us any funds which he does not recover ? Never; he gets them back during the following five years. I am mentioning this because there is much talk in the European press at present on this matter. If we look at the newspapers of Europe, or listen to the broadcasts, the B.B.C. in London, for example, we hear them talking of aid.

Nobody gives us any aid at all. All what we make, we make it with our own money, with our funds.

In the following Five-Year Plan we shall do double work, we shall make much work; and they will say that we are paying high costs, because we shall spend on industry more than what we are spending now. The reason is that we have a more ambitious programme in the Second Five-Year Plan than in the first one. We shall encounter difficulties with the hard currencies. But this does not mean that we are short of money; if we stop one half of our industrial plan during one year, we immediately discover that we have savings, hard currency, and reserves.

At the same time, we would have unemployed workers and problems as was the case before the Revolution

when they used to say that we had no factories, that we had unemployed workers, that the standard was low and that we had a reserve of L.E. 100 million and L.E. 200 million. Today we are working on the oasis of keeping only the reserve which is necessary for use in difficult times. The rest of the money we earn and get as loans we use for industrialisation which shall increase the country's wealth and give work to every citizen.

In 1970, God willing, the production of steel shall reach 2.5 million tons. In the next plan, we shall manufacture the machines which are necessary for the construction of factories. Today, when we construct a factory, we import it from abroad but in the next plan we shall build our own factories. Now, if we want to build a textiles factory, we import the textiles machinery from abroad. In the next plan, after two years to be precise, if we want to build a textiles factory, we shall be manufacturing the machinery of the factory ourselves.

In the next plan, we shall spend L.E. 1600 million and reclaim about one million feddans in agriculture. Up till now, we have reclaimed half a million feddans, but in the next plan we shall reclaim one million feddans which means that we will have increased the area of agricultural land from 6 million to seven and a half million feddans.

We do all this by our sweat and effort, through our determination and by our own money. For no one gives us money without taking it back.

Our plans grow bigger because our hopes grow bigger, and so does our will, and also because we gain greater experience in work. Today, as I was passing by the High Dam I saw the people, the workers, driving big machines and big tractors. It is obvious that we are gaining experience and that we have gained experience from the High Dam.

Naturally, this helps us to carry out our projects. After the conclusion of the High Dam project — even before its conclusion — we shall start to generate electricity from a barrage on the Nile. We shall build a barrage on the Nile. We shall convert the Ministry of the High Dam into the Ministry of Construction. The Ministry's activities shall not end by the conclusion of the High Dam. It shall continue to work, and those who work at the High Dam Ministry shall continue to work on the construction of a barrage on the Nile and on the generation of electricity therefrom. We shall get from that barrage about 6 milliard KWH of electricity. Electricity shall be generated from Aswan to Cairo, from the old Aswan Dam, from the High Dam and from the new barrage on the Nile.

It is necessary that we benefit from this army which we see at the Aswan Dam which is in effect a register of technical experience that is as important as the construction of the High Dam itself. These people constitute a capital for us in the big constructions and represent one of the armies of national work which must neither be abandoned nor put on the reserve.

The High Dam is a perpetual school for experience and constitutes the pillar of a permanent ministry for

big constructions. This army of workers and technicians at the High Dam must bear the result of the experience they gained in re-building Egypt, so we may have a big power for progress and prosperity.

Brethren, yourselves, your work and the results of this work represent the free choice of the free peoples of Egypt who rejected backwardness, slavery, the domination of feudalism and capital and imperialism. However, rejection is merely a negative way to replying to a challenge.

Free, strong peoples have the ability to turn mutiny into a revolution. They reject what they do not want but they also have in them the making of a revolution so they may determine their own future and manifest their ability to overcome all difficulties, shape their own future and emerge victorious.

This High Dam is a great bastion for the Revolution and its concepts. It is a great bastion for positive action and for the country's determination and ability. It is a symbol of the free choice, the responsibility of which has been borne by the Egyptian people who carried it out and paid its price, no matter how dear it was and no matter what sacrifices have been made. We do not build with words and we do not execute big projects by hopes. Nor do we imagine that we shall have what we want by imagining it. No one possesses the magic ring talked about in fables which one rubs to get what one wants. We used to dream of the High Dam but you are the magic ring which is building it.

Brethren,

The construction of the High Dam is not a holiday in Aswan, nor was the nationalisation of the Suez Canal

a boat picnic. The building of heavy industries and the reclamation of land were neither day dreams nor night dreams. All these things needed hard work and heavy sacrifices, for work and sacrifices are the only method of the present to build the future. As I told you, we are building with our own hands, our sweat and in some cases with our blood, but always with our own money.

For example, the High Dam costs L.E. 400 million, of which we received L.E. 100 million in two loans from the Soviet Union. We received L.E. 36 million in the first agreement and L.E. 64 million in the second agreement pertaining to the second stage. This leaves L.E. 300 million to be covered by the budget, i.e. by the Egyptian people for the building of the High Dam. The L.E. 100 million which we received from the Soviets were not a grant or an aid ; it was a loan which we shall repay. We have actually started to repay it. Although we do not consider it an aid, we do regard it as sincere and brotherly cooperation worthy of our everlasting gratitude and appreciation.

In this connection, I wish to mention a very important point which I consider my duty to register for our Soviet brothers with regard to their method of dealing with us.

There occurred many differences at some stages, just as usually happens between friends. In 1959, the misunderstanding reached the point of a crisis ; yet, at that time, we did not hear from the Soviet Union any

statement or mention of these differences. We did not hear any threat or any word saying that they would not proceed with the High Dam.

There were agreements between them and us of ten-fold more importance to us than those between us and any other State ; of higher importance than all the agreements between us and other States. We had discords. There was the first industrialisation agreement of 1957 of a value of L.E. 63 million between us and the Soviet Union. There was also the agreement regarding the first stage of the High Dam with the Soviet Union, of a value of L.E. 36 million. However, at the very apex of our discords, these agreements which were important and momentous to us, were not used as material for defamation or for extortion or for overt or covert pressure. This was a fortunate thing on one side and an unfortunate one on the other.

What was encountered on the part of others than the Soviets on many occasions was entirely different. In point of fact, I cherish for the Soviet Union high esteem, because when we disagreed with them in 1959, and our disagreement culminated almost into a crisis and we all recollect that violent crisis which occurred in 1959, we did not see a single word of menace or even a hint that our disagreement shall affect the High Dam agreement, or the industrialisation agreement, published in any newspaper or magazine. No declaration was uttered by a responsible authority, nor did anyone in the Soviet Union make any allusion purporting how, while we have an agreement with them about the High Dam,

can we be in discord with them, or have a dispute with them.

This is an attitude which we fully appreciate. It is altogether different from what we are hearing these days from Germany, for instance, about cutting off aid. They think that such talk will affect us. We tell them that it will not. We get no aid from you, so why do you insinuate that we do ? You say that we get aid from you, whereas we simply have a commercial deal with you. You grant us credit facilities and you give us loans with which we buy factories from you, which means that you benefit from us. We repay you at 6 or 7 percent interest.

Last week, they said in West Germany that if Ulbricht visits Egypt we shall cut off aid. This is a long story. It is not confined to aid. We, too, have helped Germany in the international field and have shown our sympathy towards the Germany people who have been divided after the Second World War into West and East Germany. We have said that we would support them in their right to determine their own future. An old friendship exists between us and the German people. There are no problems between us at all and there never were. On the contrary, the Egyptian people and all the Arabs have always had friendly relations with the German people.

It then came to our knowledge that West Germany had concluded an arms deal with Israel. We could not

imagine that this deal was a gift ; we thought it was an agreement to purchase German-made arms for Israel. We then got to know that the operation was not the purchase of arms, but a gift of armaments from West Germany to Israel. This included 200 tanks, 60 aeroplanes, 200 armoured cars, tens or even hundreds of guns, a deal reaching a value of 80 million dollars. Yet nothing can prevent us from believing that these 80 million dollars represent only one-fourth, one-fifth or even one-sixth of the actual price, because this sum represents nominal prices.

What is the significance of Germany's giving a gift of arms to Israel ? It means that it helps aggressive Israel, which has killed hundreds and thousands of Arabs, which has usurped Palestine, to carry out the same aggressive role with regard to other Arab states.

If West Germany gives Israel 200 tanks as a gift, who gives us 200 tanks as a gift to prevent the Israeli aggression ? We have to buy these tanks with our own money and labour, therefore the very fact that they are giving these arms to Israel as a gift means that they are encouraging Israel to attack the Arabs. We have resented this and said so frankly : By doing this, West Germany has committed a treacherous act against the Arabs who have always supported her and given her their friendship. We said that we shall take decisive action and that this arms gift must stop. This gift of murder weapons must stop or we shall sever our relations with West Germany. After this, they undertook to stop the shipment of arms to Israel, but of course the

latter has already received 80% of the arms. Only 20 % have been stopped and 80 % have been given to Israel free of charge.

Yet the Prime Minister of Western Germany says that if Ulbricht visits us they would cut off aid. The answer is simple : We told them that we do not receive aid from them, only loans which are not in any manner profitable to us as we take them at 6% or 7% interest. This means that whatever sum we receive is repaid one and a half or two times its amount.

We also told them that in our coming plan we were not ready for this type of deal which drains our finances. We repeated that we never took anything from them which we did not return, but that our dealings were carried out for the mutual benefit of both parties and any country in the world would be willing to deal with us on these conditions or on more favourable conditions. For example, we pay 2.5% interest on the High Dam loan while we pay 7% to Germany. We then compare between them and the Soviet Union with whom we had a major difference in 1959 and we say to them that whatever they say does not move us and that we are willing to extend a free invitation to them to come here to Aswan, stay at the Cataract or the New Cataract Hotel, and see the High Dam so that they may witness the symbol of our determination and see that those who promised their cooperation the first time to build the High Dam went back on the agreements they had reached with us. The Americans and the British had promised to build the High Dam and to give us loans which

they had also called aid. They were going to give us loans amounting to 200 million dollars which they later refused to give. We then faced the tripartite aggression and, at that time, the British and the Americans thought their refusal to finance the project would prevent its construction or would mean the conversion of the site of the High Dam from a symbol of the new life to a burial ground for it. The High Dam was built, the High Dam now stands. The big powers that wanted to obstruct the establishment of the High Dam and to break the hopes and plans of the Egyptian people have achieved nothing. They have destroyed themselves, their plan and their own aggression.

The High Dam is a symbol of the ability of the Egyptian people to reply to threats, resist pressure and overcome them. It is a symbol of the ability of the Egyptian people to achieve their great and glorious aims. We are ready, right from this spot in the High Dam, the symbol of determination, to invite those who imagine that they have something to threaten our people with, to visit Egypt. There are some people like West Germany today who imagine that they have something with which they can threaten this country. We tell them : It is we who control our present and future. We shape our future with our own hands, work, sweat and, if necessary, blood. We shape it with our own money. We have not taken one German mark as a gift. They talk about moving Kalabsha temple for us. Well, they can come, dismantle it and take it to Germany. They say that they have donated money to save the temple of Kalabsha. This temple was in Nubia and we do not

benefit from it. It is neither a factory nor a dam. It serves world culture and humanity. It is a work which benefits human and world culture. Moreover, we have stated that we are prepared to give any quarter which helps in saving a temple a number of other temples as a price for saving the temple. Other countries have saved other temples in Egypt. They talk about saving Kalabsha and that they charged no money for their trouble. Well, I am prepared to give them Kalabsha rather than let them say that they have done something for us worth even one mark.

All that exists between us and Germany which talks about loans and aid is a loan of L.E. 42 million at an interest to be determined at current world prices. We pay a quarter of the loan in advance, which means that the facilities are unlike those granted by the Soviet Union which gives us a factory and we start paying for it one year after it is finished. When West Germany gives us a factory, we pay a sum of money on signing the deal, then pay another sum on the first delivery. In other words, there is no comparison between the facilities granted by the Soviet Union and those granted by West Germany which demands payment in advance. In the case of the KEMA factory, we have paid its price in hard currency when we could have bought it from any place else like Japan, for instance, on the same conditions or even better ones. I am saying all this because those people in West Germany who threaten us seem to be unaware of the fact that they get money for the things they supply. They actually believe that these things constitute aid and they are trying to deceive us or de-

ceive the German people. I want the German people to know that we have never taken any money from them as aid but as loans which we have repaid.

We do not accept that anybody may threaten ; nor that anybody should utilise these loans as a means of pressure, because we declared that we take these loans without strings. What we do really appreciate is the friendship of the German people, and it behoves the Germans to appreciate the friendship of the people of Egypt and of the Arabs generally. This is the only thing we make a point of recognising.

We permanently cherished the friendship towards the German people, and this friendship still exists, and we feel and consider that what had marred this friendship is not Ulbricht's visit, but the arms gift to Israel. They gave Israel the bullets to kill the Arabs with. This is the misdeed, the treachery, the secretly perpetrated act in 1960. To-day, they say that it was America which told them to give Israel arms. Is Germany not an independent country ? Is Germany a country that does not know the value of Arab friendship or of Arab strength ? The misdeed is that of giving arms to Israel as a gratuitous gift. We reject the idea that matters should be thus subverted. Ulbricht's visit is not the problem : it is a matter from beginning to end purely of the concern of the United Arab Republic, and no power can dictate to us what our policy should be, nor to present to us its wishes in order that we put our seal on them. We all know that throughout all the past twelve years, no one could make us subscribe or put our

seal on anything ; but our principles are known. We decide by ourselves what we want. We accept no dictation from anyone. We engaged in war in 1956 and repelled the aggression because we resolved on our independent will.

We harmed no one with our policy — but others harmed us by plotting with our enemies. The German Government harmed us when it plotted with our enemies to give them this tremendous quantity of armaments to use in aggression against us. Of course there are some people who turn up over there and say we give these arms to Israel so that it may defend itself against the Arabs. Who attacked, the Arabs or Israel ? Who attacked in 1956 ; who came attacking Gaza in 1956 ? Israel and those behind Israel. In 1956, Israel, Britain and France attacked. — Israel with the arms it had received. We know that Israel is not alone — behind it stand America, behind Israel stands the West — behind it stands imperialism. We know this and we must stand and defend ourselves against Israel's plan and those behind Israel. That is why we break imperialism.

For this reason we are trying to do away with the influence of imperialism in this region after what happened in 1948. That is why we can feel deceit and treachery.

We had asked about the arms deals ; every time we asked about them they denied that there were such deals. Today I would like to say something : West Germany, after having felt the strength of the Arab world, and the unity in the Arab world towards this

Israeli deal or the arms' gift to Israel, West Germany today is trying to divide the Arab world. They are trying today to disintegrate the Arab world. Last night, I received a message from our Ambassador in Algeria saying that the German Ambassador met with responsible officials in the Algerian Foreign Ministry stating that his country will cut its aid to the United Arab Republic and that they will increase their aid to Algeria. However, our brethren in Algeria, and at their head my brother, President Ben Bella, asked the responsible officials in the Algerian Foreign Ministry to inform the German Ambassador that « we shall not be taken in by such methods, and that we will never, under any circumstances, agree to having such methods used in order to divide us and our brothers ; and that — on this subject — we are at one with the United Arab Republic and are in complete solidarity with it ».

Of course I believe the same thing was done with the other Arab states to which they enumerated the aid they give us. I should like first to inform all Arab States that we have not received any aid from Germany ; Germany does not give us aid. Then I should like to tell Germany that all Arab States will ever be one coherent whole as they actually proved during the crisis ; this is because the arms granted to Israel were never taken back. 80% of these arms, 200 tanks, 200 armoured cars in addition to the transport planes and the other things we read about in the papers and which the Prime Minister talked about in the National Assembly, were actually sent to Israel.

In order to evade the danger of Israel, we have to get similar arms, indeed the Arab States should get arms so as to stand against this flood of arms which Germany granted to Israel completely free of charge.

According to newspaper reports, it was America which ordered Germany to give arms to Israel. We cannot accept this. Naturally, with regard to Germany, there are many other things. There are, for instance, the question of reparations. Germany gives Israel a yearly 'baksheesh' of 370 million dollars. She has given Israel 3700 million dollars baksheesh during the past ten years. Yet they talk about the aid they give us. We do not take a single dollar in baksheesh, nor do we accept baksheesh. Of course for that part of the arms which Germany will discontinue shipping to Israel, the latter will get cash as baksheesh with which she may buy arms from other quarters. Therefore, nothing has changed. Israel is getting money instead of arms and she can buy arms with that money from any quarter. Of course, we consider this to be a hostile act towards the Arabs. By giving Israel money instead of arms, she can buy the arms from other quarters such as France. I was just going to speak about France. The Germans are saying why have you not reacted in the same way towards France which supplies Israel with arms ? There is a difference. France sells aircraft to Israel and is ready to sell us aircraft. Israel pays for these planes and we are ready to pay for what we get. The difference is that Germany has given Israel 60 planes for nothing. If she pays for 60 planes and I pay for 60 planes then both of us will be paying but when Israel

gets 60 planes as a gift and I have to buy 60 planes then Israel managed to get off with non-payment whereas I have to pay money which I could spend on buying one or two factories. This means that Israel is consolidating her economy and getting these arms as a gift at the same time.

We do not accept this way of doing things. We are naturally watching this situation, and we know where we are and on what ground we stand. The ground we stand on is one of principle. No one can command us, and our consciences are at rest. Another difference between us and our enemies is that in 1955, when we made that arms deal with Czechoslovakia, we announced it and so did Czechoslovakia; and we said that we signed a commercial agreement of purchase of arms; whereas this deal of 1960 and 1962 was a secret one, the purpose of which apparently was that Israel be equipped with arms and make a surprise attack on the Arabs.

Naturally, Israel is deprecating the action of Bonn at present, and waging a campaign against it in America and another in Europe. If Bonn were to give way to the attacks of Israel, and continue to supply it with arms, we know on what basis we are going to act. We said that we shall not conserve or maintain our relations with Western Germany while Western Germany betrays us, and supplies our principal enemies with a gift of arms to slay us with.

As regards the menace of stoppage of our dealings with them, we say to them that, as regards economic

agreements, we do not ask for anything and we do not want anything. The world's markets are full. There are companies ready to give effect to our demands. Our declarations are quite clear; principles are not mere words, but acts. We are a people who have been able to triumph on every occasion, because we stood firm on our principles.

The great work you did here in Aswan is an incarnation of these principles, in fact and in resolve.

Before concluding my speech, I wish once more to bid welcome to my dear brother, El Habib Bourguiba, and to say to him that Egypt has received you during the time of your struggle, and we are happy to receive you today after Tunisia has gained its independence and after God had speeded your steps in sweeping out all the foreign forces of occupation from Tunisia. May God prosper your path and salutations to you.

God's peace be upon you.

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